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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Notes from the President's Desk	1
An Unpublished Arrow-Head with Phoenician Inscription of the 11th-10th Century B. C. J. T. Milik	3
A Radiocarbon Date for Early South Arabia. G. W. Van Beek	6
A Note on Early Sabaean Chronology. W. F. Albright	9
The Fourth Season at Dothan. J. P. Free	11
Samuel's Denunciation of Kingship in the Light of the Akkadian Documents from Ugarit. I. Mendelsohn	17
New Evidence on the Chronology of the Last Kings of Judah. E. R. Thiele	22
The Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar Chronicles. W. F. Albright	28
Some Books Received by the Editor	34
Publications of the Schools	35

For Indexes to the BULLETIN see Nos. 50, 74, 76, 80, 103, 105, 141.

NOTES FROM THE PRESIDENT'S DESK

Continuous change is the normal order of things in the Near East today. I must report that Mr. G. Lankester Harding, who has long been connected with the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, is no longer serving in that capacity. I think I speak for everybody connected with the profession when I express our appreciation for all Mr. Harding has done for archaeology in Jordan through the years. He has been a good friend to the Schools and we wish him good fortune in his future en-

deavors. No definite word has reached us from Jerusalem up to the moment regarding his successor, but our best wishes go to the new Director in his responsibilities. We know that he will have the best interests of his country and our profession at heart and we all offer our cooperation in any way necessary to keep the status of archaeology in Jordan in the high esteem in which it has always been held throughout the world.

Director Robert Dentan reports that the School in Jerusalem is well started on the new academic year. The summer was a busy one, with the following expeditions using the School as their base.

Work at Dhiban was continued under the direction of Dr. Morton, of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, a joint sponsor of the expedition with the Schools. The Catholic Biblical Association also made a generous contribution to the cost of the excavation. Such support is most welcome and is definitely an investment in scholarship. May we hope for more aid of this sort in the future.

McCormick and Drew Seminaries (both Corporation members) have been busy making preliminary soundings at Balata under the direction of Dr. G. Ernest Wright and with the assistance of Dean Bernhard Anderson. The latest reports would indicate that the future has possibilities, at least for archaeology in that area.

Dr. James Pritchard of the Church Divinity School of the Pacific and The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania have been working hard at El-Jib. The name of the latter institution will awaken fond memories in the minds of some of us, since it was one of the principal sponsors of excavations in this area in the twenties and thirties.

Work on the Scrolls continues at a steady pace. Dr. Frank Cross was in Jerusalem again this summer, and from all reports he and other experts in the field will be busy for many more years to come.

You will notice that Chairman Reed of the Jerusalem School Committee has moved from Texas Christian to The College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky.

The Chairman of the Baghdad School Committee indicates that the School enjoyed a year of remarkable success. The returning Director reported a very successful season at Nippur. Dr. Crawford has accepted the Directorship for next year and should be busy by now engaged in the survey in cooperation with Dr. Adams of The Oriental Institute. The Chairman also reports that a generous contribution has been received from Mrs. Walter E. Seeley, of Cleveland, Ohio, for support of the excavations conducted by the Baghdad School. This gift is very much appreciated and will insure the cooperation of the School in the final joint expedition to Nippur next year.

Vice-president Albright is in Europe attending the Congress of Old Testament scholars at Strassburg. Word has just reached us that he has been elected President of the Congress for the next three years. This is a well deserved honor and the Schools can bask in a bit of reflected glory. He will travel later to Turkey under the auspices of the State Department Cultural Exchange program.

A. H. DETWEILER

AN UNPUBLISHED ARROW-HEAD WITH PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTION OF THE 11TH-10TH CENTURY B.C.

J. T. Milik

I have seen recently in a private collection an inscribed arrow-head in perfect state of preservation, bought from a *fellâḥ* of the Biqâʿ in Lebanon.[1]

The arrow-head is of bronze, with blunted spatulate tip 66 mm. long, 15 mm. wide towards the end, and about 2 mm. thick; with central flat rib, gradually widening from 3 to 5 mm.; it has a bulge, square in section

Obverse and reverse of inscribed arrow-head (at slightly different scales).
(*Courtesy of Palestine Archaeological Museum*)

and 6 mm. thick, at the base of the head, and a square tang, enlarging towards the bulge at the base of the blade, with a maximum thickness of 3 mm.

This type of arrow-head is known from Palestine,[2] and the features of our specimen allow us to date it to Early Iron I.[3]

The central rib bears on both sides an inscription, relatively deep and firmly incised, which runs *ḥṣzkrb / bnbnʿn*, i. e. *ḥṣ Zkr* {*b*}[4] */ bn Bnʿn*, *ḥiṣṣ Zakkur bin Binʿana*, " the arrow of Zakkur son of Binʿana."

[1] Photo Palestine Archaeological Museum Nos. 42.083 and 42.084 and photo Starcky.

[2] See *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, vol. III (forthcoming).

[3] For the typology of arrow and javelin-heads in Palestine of the Late Bronze-Iron I, see the study of F. M. Cross, Jr., and J. T. Milik mentioned in note 2.

[4] This *beth* is undoubtedly a false start for *bn*, the passage from the end of one

The script is in the early standardized Phoenician alphabet, having the normal horizontal, right to left, disposition and orientation of letters.[5] Of the eight different letters represented in this inscription two are characteristic enough to permit dating. The three-fingered *kaph*, without the vertical "leg," is to be found on the Ruweiseh javelin-head, on the Byblos spatula and in the Byblos royal inscriptions of the 10th century B. C.; the zigzag *nun*, with three strokes of equal length, is identical with the *nun* of the spatula and, disregarding angularity, with that of the Aḥirom and Yeḥimilk inscriptions. Not sufficiently decisive are: *beth* with vertical square-angled "leg" (attested from Aḥirom, where it alternates with slanted or curved *beth*, until the archaic Cyprus inscription) and *ṣade* (until the Nora inscription), both *termini ad quem* being of the 9th century.[6] Consequently, our arrow-head may be safely dated to the 11th-10th century. The first half of the 10th century seems most likely, both for ours and also for the Ruweiseh arrow-head (and for the Byblos spatula, too), taking into account historical rather than paleographical considerations. The creation of numerous small states in Syria-Palestine at the beginning of that century involved without doubt the raising of well-organized armies. And, as we shall see below, the proper names written on various javelin and arrow-heads found in Canaanite lands suggest the existence of a body of mercenary soldiers whose traditions go back at least to the 14th century.[6a]

The name *Zkr* is an hypocoristicon of *Zkrb'l* (name of the king of Byblos in the Wen-Amon story from about 1060,[7] transcribed *Ṯkrb'r* [8]), pronounced probably *Zakkûr*.[9] In later times both forms are attested, though rather sparingly, by *Zkr* on a Phoenician (?) seal of the 8th-7th century[10] and, after the phonetic shift of *z* to *s* in this root, by *Skrb'l* and *Skr* on Punic stelae from Carthage [11]; in transcription *Sicarbas* (husband of Dido) and *Sicharbas*,[12] i. e. *Sĕkarba'l*. Names with *zkr* 'remember' were popular in Israel, both in the Bible and in inscriptions, from the 13th century (*Zakkûr*, one of the spies sent by Moses, Num.

line to the beginning of another being one of the commonest causes of dittography. For the later period, cf. e. g., 1Q Is[a] (O. Eissfeldt: *VT* 2, 1952, pp. 87-92); a document from Murabba'ât (*RB* 60, 1953, pp. 269-272, pl. XIII, line 5/6; H. L. Ginsberg: *BASOR* 131, Oct. 1953, p. 26, n. 13); a graffito in the Astarte Grotto of Waṣṭa (*MUSJ* 31, 1954, p. 6, line 2/3 of the transcription).

[5] For the problems involved herewith, see Cross, "The Evolution of the Proto-Canaanite Alphabet," *BASOR* 134 (April, 1954), pp. 15-24.

[6] For the chronology of the inscriptions mentioned here, see *BASOR* 134, p. 11 (with bibliography) and the tables of scripts, ib., p. 10 and J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, Rome 1951, *Schrifttafel*.

[6a] Or even until Hyksos times; see notes 21 and 23.

[7] For this date see W. F. Albright, *JAOS* 71 (1951), p. 260.

[8] M. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen* II, Leipzig 1910, no. 1173, p. 59.

[9] In Phoenician v. g. *A-zu-ri* (king of Ashdod in the time of Sargon II) i. e. *'Azzûr*, *Ḥa-a-nu-ú-nu* (king of Gaza under Tiglathpileser III) i. e. *Ḥannûn*; very common in Hebrew.

[10] M. A. Levy, *Siegel und Gemmen*, Breslau 1869, No. 13, p. 28, pl. II, 12.

[11] *Skrb'l*: CIS I 1218, 1354, 5253(?); *Skr*: 2283(?), 3751.

[12] References in Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, New Haven, 1936, p. 90.

13. 4) down to New Testament times. They are also known in early Aramaic and in South-Arabian inscriptions.

More interesting, however, is the second name *Bn'n*. It occurs, written *bn.'n*, in a census-list of *mdrǵlm* [13] from Ugarit (*UM* [14] 64, 32). A shortened (?) form *'n* [15] is found in a list of bowmen (*tnnm*): *yrm*[*n*] [16] *bn 'n* (*UM* 80, II, 19).[17] Let us also quote some Ugaritic proper names containing *-'nt*: *Bin-anat* (*PU* III,[18] 11. 839, 16; p. 194), *bn 'ntn* (*bin'anat* with the suffix *-an*; *UM* 86, 1), *Anat* (*PU* III, *l. c.*, 12). All these names are attested also elsewhere between the 14th and the 10th centuries. *Bin-ana* was borne by a Byblian sojourning in Egypt in the Amarna period (*EA* 170, 37); *Bi'ana*, written *b'nh* or *b'n'*,[19] was the name of four persons in 10th century Israel.[20] *'Ana(h)* was a "Hurrian" clan in Edom (Gen., ch. 36 *passim*). *Bin-'anat* was the name of a ship's captain in the reign of Ramses II,[21] and *Bint-'anat* of one of the daughters of the same Pharaoh.[22] *Anat* was the name of a Byblian companion of *Bin-ana* (*EA* 170, 43),[23] and of a "Hurrian" condottiere, *Šamgar bin 'Anat*,[24] in Palestine of the 12th century.[25]

[13] Soldiers who bear the weapon *mdrn* (*-ǵl* = *-uḫlu*, the Hurrian *nomen agentis* suffix); Ch. Virolleaud: *Syria* 30 (1954), p. 193, n. 1; C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, Rome 1955, p. 286 f., nos. 1071a and 1071b.

[14] Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*.

[15] The easiest way of explaining the rather puzzling onomastic formation of *'n* and *'nt* (also *'dn* and *b'l*) would be to suppose the phonetic reduction of *bin* in a group such as: x *bin* ‹*bin-*› *'anat*, etc.

[16] Cf. *Ya-ri-ma-nu*, F. Thureau-Dangin: *Syria* 18 (1937), p. 249, l. 3.

[17] For the god *'An(a) / A-na, E-na*, the masculine counterpart of the feminine *'Anat*, see Albright: *AJSL* 41 (1924), p. 86 f.; J. Lewy: *ZA* 38 (1929), p. 272; A. Vincent, *La religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Éléphantine*, Paris 1937, pp. 639-642.

[18] *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit* III: J. Nougayrol, *Textes accadiens* . . . , Paris 1955.

[19] This equation was proposed by P. Dhorme, *Les livres de Samuel*, Paris 1910, p. 301, n. 2. There are at least three examples of *bin* in the inscriptions, where *n* is assimilated to the following consonant: *bplṣb'l* on the Tabor knife (Sh. Yeivin: *Kedem* 2, 1945, p. 32-41) as recognized by B. Maisler: *Leshonenu* 14, pp. 172 f., who also quotes *byḫymlk* and *bklby* in the Byblos inscriptions and some biblical names, among them our *b'nh / b'n'*; see also Y. Sukenik: *BJPES* 13 (1947), p. 117 (with bibliography).

[20] A *śar gĕdûd* of 'Išba'l son of Saul; one of the desperados of David; two district-governors under Solomon.

[21] Albright: *AJSL* 41 (1924), p. 85; another *Bi-in-'-n-ta* under Dyn. XIX; Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, New Haven 1934, VI B 10, p. 40.

[22] *Bi-in-ti-'-n-t*; Albright, *Vocalization* . . . , VI B 12, p. 40.

[23] Also *'A-na-ta*, a hypocoristic name of an early Hyksos king in the Turin Papyrus, Dyn. XIX; Albright, *Vocalization* . . . , V A 5, p. 37.

[24] Albright's explanation "Šamgar of Bêt-'Anat (in Galilee)," *JPOS* 1 (1920-21), p. 55, n. 1 and *AJSL*, *l. c.*, p. 84 f., accepted by other scholars, e. g. A. Alt: *ZAW* 60 (1944), p. 73, n. 4, does not seem necessary in view of the adduced onomastic parallels.

[25] The onomastic category "*bn* + divine name or epithet (often in caritative form with *-ay*, *-an*, or *-(a)m*)" seems to have been rather popular among the army of Ugarit. There are for example *Ad-du-na* (also Phoen. *'dn*, king of Ascalon(?) in the 7th cent.), *bn 'dn*; *bn ugr*; *b'l* (also Phoen. *Ba-'-lu/Ba-'i-lu, Ba-a-lu*, Βααλ, BAL), *bn b'ly, bn b'ln/ Bin-ba'la-na* (Phoen. *bnb'l* and *bṯb'l*); *bn gṯrn* (cf. *gṯrm // 'ntm* and *gṯr // b'l* in the literary texts); *bn ḫgbn* (cf. *'bdḫgb*); *bn mlk*; *bn nbdg*; *bn nkl*; *bn 'ṯtry, Bin-aš-tar-mi*; *bn qdšt*; *bn ršp* (also on the Memphis Phoenician

When publishing the el-Khaḍr inscribed javelin-heads,[26] we noticed the presence of el-Khaḍr and Ruweiseh names in the lists of Ugarit and we suggested that there was in Syria-Palestine of the Late Bronze-Early Iron Period a mercenary body of soldiers, and especially of bowmen, surviving the migrations and the changing of ruling classes, the profession being hereditary among certain families. That suggestion seems strengthened by the new arrow-head and the onomastic material treated above. We now know several traditional names of professional soldiers common to Ugarit of the 14th-13th, Judaea of the 12th, Phoenicia and Israel of the 11th-10th centuries.[27]

A RADIOCARBON DATE FOR EARLY SOUTH ARABIA

G. W. Van Beek

The technique of age determination by accurate measurement of carbon isotope No. 14 (C^{14}) in organic material has been extremely valuable to those areas of archaeological research in which an absolute chronology is otherwise unattainable owing to the dearth of precisely datable literary sources and artifacts.[1] These include, of course, not only the whole field of prehistory but also the early historical periods of virtually every ancient culture. Prominent among the latter is pre-Islamic South Arabia, where the entire chronology before the beginning of the Christian era has fluctuated as much as a millennium. To fix this chronology firmly, it was decided to utilize the newly developed technique of radiocarbon dating. One of the primary objectives of the expeditions sponsored by the American Foundation for the Study of Man, under the leadership of Wendell Phillips, therefore, was the careful collection of enough organic matter for radiocarbon tests, which would be conducted by independent scientists with no knowledge of the problems of South Arabian chronology.

arrow-head of the 6th cent.: *ASAE* 47, 1947, pp. 65-71), *bn ršpy*; *bn špš* / *Bin-šap-ši*; *bn tnn* (cf. the divinity *'nt-ltn*).

A striking parallel to the pair *bn 'n* : *bn 'nt* is *bn il* / *Bin-ilu* : *bn ilt* and *bn ady* / *Bin-ad-da-ya* : *bn adty*.

[26] Milik and Cross: *BASOR* 134, pp. 5-15, with remarks of Albright, *ibid.*, p. 26.

[27] Inscribed bronze weapons seem to have been in vogue in Babylon during the 12th-11th cent. In Luristan several daggers have been found bearing the names of contemporary Babylonian kings; see G. Contenau: *RA* 28 (1931), pp. 105-108; 29 (1932), p. 29. A bronze arrow-head of the same provenience bears the name of E-ulmaš-šakin-šumi (end of the 11th century); *RA* 29, p. 29 f.; it is very similar to some arrow-heads of the el-Khaḍr hoard.

[1] There can now be no question regarding the validity of radiocarbon dating. Again and again radiocarbon dates have been confirmed by other methods of counting time. Among recent publications, see M. Dothan, "Radioactive Examination of Archaeological Material from Israel," *IEJ*, 6, pp. 112 ff. and K. M. Kenyon, *PEQ*, 1954, p. 67. The best treatment of the principles, methods, and results of radiocarbon dating is contained in W. F. Libby, *Radiocarbon Dating*, Chicago, 2nd ed., 1955.

At Hajar Bin Ḥumeid, located in Wâdi Beiḥân, Western Aden Protectorate, a number of charred wooden beams, which had originally served as roofing or ceiling of mud-brick construction, were found in several different levels during the 1950-51 excavations.[2] A large quantity of charcoal was taken from each beam in order to provide sufficient samples for several radiocarbon tests. The earliest (lowest) beam was found in the second (latest) phase of the second stratum from the bottom, at 11.10 meters, i. e., it was 3.34 meters above the bed of irrigation silt on which the earliest town was built and 11.08 meters below the surface of the mound, in horizontal stratification. In view of its depth in the mud-brick debris, there is no possibility of contamination with later material.[3] Approximately one and one-half pounds of charcoal were saved from it.

On April 25, 1956, three lumps of charcoal from this beam, with a combined weight of 30 grams, were submitted to Dr. Meyer Rubin,[4] chief of the U. S. Geological Survey Radiocarbon Laboratory in Washington, D. C., for a radiocarbon test. Using the acetylene counting method perfected by Suess,[5] Dr. Rubin ran the test and reported on July 16, 1956 as follows:

W-437 Charcoal from Stratum 2, Phase 2, Area 4 of Hajar Bin Humeid excavation, Western Aden Protectorate, South Arabia. Collected by D. W. Dragoo and G. W. Van Beek, 1951.[6] 2,807 ± 160 yrs.

This means, therefore, that the beam in question dates *c.* — 851 years or 852 B. C. plus or minus an error factor of 160 years, or within the limits of 1012 and 692 B. C.

The significance of this date for South Arabian chronology can hardly be overstated; we now have a clear time-point, established by a stratigraphically controlled excavation and an impartial agency, in the early first millennium B. C. around which we must begin to order our chronology. Thanks to this independent external control, the wide oscillation of early South Arabian chronology comes to an end. Its implications for the development of South Arabian pottery chronology are far-reaching. The initial pottery sequence for this area, based on the material recovered at Hajar Bin Ḥumeid,[7] will have a fixed chronological basis and will thus escape the uncertainty and controversy that has plagued the

[2] The excavation of this site was undertaken by W. F. Albright in 1950 and was continued in 1951 under his general supervision by D. W. Dragoo with the assistance of J. R. Simpson and the writer.

[3] Such contamination would, in any case, introduce more C^{14} to the specimen and yield a date later than the actual age since the older the specimen, the greater the disintegration of C^{14}. A specimen contaminated in this way would show an apparent date later than the true one.

[4] We wish to acknowledge here our deep gratitude to Dr. Rubin for his cooperation in undertaking this test.

[5] For a description of this technique, see Hans E. Suess, "Natural Radiocarbon Measurements by Acetylene Counting" (*Science* 120, pp. 5 ff.).

[6] Private correspondence between Dr. Rubin, W. F. Albright, and the writer.

[7] To be published by the Arabian Publication Project in 1957.

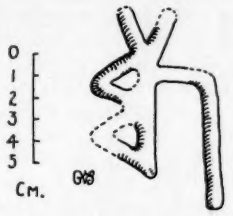
beginnings of pottery dating in other areas. Furthermore, by providing a reliable chronological datum point for the stratum in which the charcoal was found, the radiocarbon date throws light on South Arabian palaeography and the antiquity of the South Arabian alphabet. 1.70 meters *below* the charred beam from which the tested sample was taken, a large storage jar (Fig. 1) was found which, after being repaired, is

FIG. 1. Upper part of storage jar from Hajar Bin Ḥumeid with South Arabic monogram in relief.

virtually complete.[8] This jar 60 cm. high and with a rim diameter of 36.5 cm., was found with a quantity of other pottery, including another similar jar; it cannot possibly be intrusive. 6.5 cm. below the rim on the outside, there is a monogram (overall measurements 9 cm. high, 6 cm. wide) in relief which was attached to the jar after it was made and *before* the slip was applied. Unfortunately a fracture passed through part of it, destroying part of the ridges but not preventing a clear reading of the letters since the outline of the ridges is preserved on the body itself and in the upturned edges of the clay used to smooth the

[8] The base of the jar is not shown in the photograph, owing to the fact that the group of sherds that join the body and the base (a space of about 5 cm. on the longest side) is missing.

joint between the ridge and the jar body (Fig. 2). Albright first proposed that the letters be read *KHBM* but later adopted the reading *KHLM* suggested by A. Jamme. The script is the same as that used in a group of letters which Albright dates before 700 B. C. A more detailed description of the monogram, together with its bearing on South Arabian palaeography, will be given by A. Jamme in the publication of the Hajar Bin Ḥumeid pottery. The important thing to note here is that the jar



is stratigraphically earlier than the stratum in which the charcoal was found. The latest possible date for the monogram, then, must be in the second half of the eighth century and the earliest possible date must be placed about the middle of the eleventh century with the probable date falling in the ninth century B. C. As the earliest South Arabian inscription known that comes from a controlled, stratigraphic excavation, it is extraordinarily important for the development of South Arabian palaeography.

A NOTE ON EARLY SABAEAN CHRONOLOGY

Dr. Van Beek's study of the new radiocarbon date for South Arabia requires a few words on the Sabaean chronology which I worked out a year and a half ago, after careful study of the photographs of Glaser squeezes containing royal inscriptions or names. I wish to thank Dr. Maria Höfner again for her kindness in making it possible for us to have these photographs. Only now can a paleographical study of the South-Arabian royal inscriptions in the Glaser Collection be undertaken.

The chronology of Minaean kings which I proposed in 1953 [1] is certainly correct in outline, though the order of kings in the first group may require correction (I have asked Dr. A. Jamme to study the Glaser squeezes independently and propose an order based on paleography). But there can be no doubt, in my opinion, that all known Minaean kings reigned between about 400 and 25 B. C. The script of the earliest of these kings is definitely later than that of the inscriptions of the age of Karib'il Watar (cir. 450 B. C.). Before the latter we have three [2]

[1] See BULLETIN, No. 129 (1953), pp. 20-24.

[2] These three groups were worked out in the late winter of 1954/55 and discussed briefly by the writer at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in Toronto, April, 1955.

paleographic groups of inscriptions containing names of *mukarribs* of Saba': (A) archaic inscriptions containing *H* and *Ḥ* with forked top, just as in our new monogram, and with little trace of vertical symmetry; (B) monumental inscriptions with very much elongated and highly symmetrical letters, all so interconnected by filiation and coregency that their order appears to be fixed from Yadi' 'il Dhirriḥ son of Sumuhu'alay (Glaser 1109, etc.) to Sumuhu'alay Yanâf son of Yithi''amara Bayyin (Glaser 1676);[3] (C) a group of at least five *mukarribs* before Karib'il Watar, first king of Saba'. Group C may be tentatively dated between cir. 525 and 450; group B, with at least ten *mukarribs*, may be assigned to the years between cir. 675 and 525; group A, with at least five *mukarribs*, is in very archaic characters (including besides the *H* and *Ḥ* mentioned above, *Ṭ* with a cross inside an oblong, reminding one forcibly of the archaic Northwest-Semitic *ṭeth*, and *Y* with very large head and short shaft) without marked vertical symmetry,[4] and may be dated before 675 B. C., extending back at least to the early eighth and probably to the ninth century. Characteristic examples of this group are Glaser 1147, 1561, and 1550, as well as A 776 a-b (without Glaser number).

Since Yithi''amara and his son Karib'il Bayyin (Nos. 6 and 7 of the Mlaker list) must presumably be dated about 600 B. C., they drop out of consideration entirely as contemporaries of the Assyrian king Sargon II and his son Sennacherib, about 715 and 685, respectively. I expect to present evidence that it was the latest king of Group A (judging paleographically), Karib'il Watar son of Dhimri'alay (Glaser 1550 and A 776 a-b), who was the contemporary of Sennacherib about 685, leaving the Yithi''amara of Sargon's time still unrecorded in extant inscriptions. One of my principal arguments is that this Karib'il was the first known builder of the *kutallum* (or Kutallum), which presumably received its name from the world-famous fortified arsenal (*bīt kutalli*) to whose construction Sennacherib devoted so much of his inscriptions. Since the word is of Sumero-Accadian origin it would thus be a loanword in South Arabic, just as in Aramaic and Hebrew (*kutlâ*, whence *kótel*).

The new radiocarbon date places the monogram in the script of Group A before cir. 700 B. C., and probably carries it back into the ninth century, entirely confirming the result sketched above, at which I arrived a year and a half ago. South-Arabian chronology may now be considered as solidly established in its main lines.

W. F. Albright

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[3] The order of rulers in Group B is based on independent study of the Glaser squeezes and other inscriptions. Since it agrees in every detail with Mlaker's careful analysis (without benefit of paleography) in *Die Hierodulenlisten von Ma{în* (Leipzig, 1943), pp. 102 f., Nos. 1-11, it is probably correct.

[4] There is absolutely no reason to trace the extensive use of symmetry in the South-Arabian inscriptions, especially in the texts which I date between about 650 and 400 B. C., to archaic Greek prototypes (with Mlle. Pirenne). If one must have a prototype, it is unnecessary to look beyond Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions of almost any period, since vertical and horizontal symmetry are both stressed in them.

THE FOURTH SEASON AT DOTHAN

JOSEPH P. FREE

The fourth season of excavation at ancient Dothan in northwestern Jordan was carried on from March 30, 1956, until late May by the writer and a staff of seven other Americans. This season's digging was concentrated in two main areas on top of the mound:

(1) The first main area was called "A" (A-4 through A-12) [1] at the edge of the higher "acropolis" area where excavation last year (1955) [2] disclosed levels of the Hellenistic Period in the first 1.50 to 2 meters of stratification (in A-12),[3] and Iron II levels in approximately the next meter and a half. This year (1956) excavation was carried down almost another two meters, disclosing earlier Iron II sub-levels and, beneath them, Iron I. Some later Late Bronze Age material began to appear at the end of the season.

(2) The second main area of excavation in 1956 (T-1 through T-16) lies some 200 feet (60 meters) east of A-12 and comprises the highest part of the "acropolis" area on top of the tell. In this part of the mound there are six depressions averaging 30 × 40 feet and at certain places, in between these depressions, the tops of wall stones protrude. Several years ago it was suggested that these remains resemble a caravansary.[4] Our excavation gave no evidence that it was a caravansary. We shall now deal with some details in each main area.

In the A area we began excavating this year at an average depth of 320 cms. below surface in the main part of sub-area A-12,[5] and at about 365 cms. in the outer part of A-12 and the corresponding level in adjacent sub-areas A-11 through A-4. Most of A-12 had been left at the 320 cm. level since we had encountered a mass of fallen stones at the end of the 1955 season. This year further careful digging there and the removal of fallen stones yielded six house walls dividing A-12 and adjacent areas into six rooms; see Fig. 1. This completed the picture of level 6-A, which proved to average approximately a meter in depth (245-350 cms. below surface) [6] and represented the city of Dothan in

[1] For diagram of sub-areas, see BULLETIN, No. 139, p. 4, Fig. 1.

[2] See the writer's article, "The Third Season at Dothan," BULLETIN, No. 139, pp. 3-9.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

[4] Inspector's Report on Dothan, No. 3701, in files of Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, by N. Makhouly; he noted, "Foundations of a rectangular strong building, resembling a caravansary on top."

[5] This figure of "320 cms. below surface" applies only to sub-area A-12. Owing to the downward slope of the surface of the tell, the surface of A-11 at the northeast corner is 120 cms. lower than the northeast corner of A-12; A-10 is 275 cms. lower. However, we use the levels and figures from A-12 to standardize measurements for the A-4 through A-12 area. For diagram of sub-areas, see BULLETIN, No. 139, p. 4, Fig. 1.

[6] In our 1955 article we indicated level 6 as 245-365 cms. (BULLETIN, No. 139, p. 5,

the earlier part of Iron II, probably about 900-800 B. C., in the days of the earlier Kings of Israel (II Kings 6: 12-13 f.).

In this level 6-A there was black and gray ash as well as a great quantity of charred wood, which indicated destruction by fire, presumably in the late ninth or early eighth century B. C. One piece of charred wood in the north face of the area measured 4 × 14 inches (10 × 35 cms.) and evidently represented the cross section of a fallen roof timber. In at least ten other places there was charred wood. Samples are scheduled to be run in radiocarbon tests at Columbia University this fall.

FIG. 1. Sub-area A-12, showing parts of six walls and six rooms of level 6-A (Iron II, c. 900-800 B. C.). Lower left, part of room 1 and circular bread oven. Left center, room 2; on north (far) side of room 2 is wall 3, which was a main house wall in level 6-C and reused in levels 6-B and 6-A. Note west (left) end of walls removed by intrusion.

Room 1 in level 6-A of area A-12[7] yielded the lower part of a bread oven 22 inches (56 cms.) in diameter, made of coarse pottery 1½ inches (4 cms.) thick (see Fig. 1). Adjacent to it on the west was an additional

note 10). Completion of the digging of level 6 this year (1956) showed it ended at an average of 350 cms. This level 6 is now labeled 6-A (245-350 cms.), since the materials in the next level (labeled 6-B) were also Iron II.

[7] Room 1 was 320 cms. north and south and at least 5 meters east-west. The west wall of the room was apparently taken in the broad intrusion of sub-area A-9, described in our 1955 article, BULLETIN 139, p. 6. How much longer than 5 meters room 1 measured we do not know, but probably not more than 2 or 3 on the basis of other surviving walls. For the way in which the intrusion took the west end of walls in A-12, see Fig. 1, upper left. Also note effects of intrusion in Fig. 2, upper center.

cooking area with a whole camel jawbone evidently remaining from a meal nearly three millennia ago. Room 2 (195 × 270 cms.) to the north (see Fig. 1) yielded many heavy storage jars and the broken pieces of a pithos a meter long. The other four rooms of A-12 and adjacent sub-areas also contained pottery and sherds typical of the earlier part of Iron II (c. 900-800 B. C.)

In level 6-B (350-410 cms.) of sub-area A-12 and adjacent areas, three of the six house and room walls of level 6-A continued down into 6-B, showing that they were earlier Iron Age walls re-used by the 6-A people. In level 6-B Iron Age pottery, including an orange Cypriote juglet with black concentric circle decoration, implied a probable late tenth century date for this level, with other vases showing affinities with both eleventh and ninth century B. C. types.

In level 6-C (410-445 cms.) of A-12 and adjacent sub-areas, wall 3 of levels 6-A and 6-B continued to go down, which means that wall 3 was a main house wall in level 6-C and was re-used in 6-B and 6-A (see Fig. 1). Most of the other house walls of levels 6-A and B ended at the upper part of level 6-C, and new house walls, in some cases along almost the same lines, appeared in 6-C. With the disappearance of several other walls of levels 6-A and 6-B, a large courtyard took shape in level 6-C in the southern part of sub-area A-12 and most of A-11 (see Fig. 2, upper right). This courtyard measured about 10 × 11 meters on its two longer sides and was covered by a heavy plaster floor approximately an inch (2.5 cms.) thick.

A large flat stone 75 cms. across, on the floor level of 6-C, proved to be the cover of part of the elliptical opening of a stone-lined storage chamber (see Fig. 2). The chamber was two-thirds filled with a large quantity of caked black-gray ash which we removed in great chunks until we had gone down nearly six feet (180 cms.) where the narrowing space became too cramped to clear further.

The type of Iron Age lamps and other pottery imply an Iron I date for level 6-C. The presence of some Cypriote sherds of Late Bronze Age type are probably to be explained by the storage chambers, which, in the case of the one described above, intruded at least six feet into the next strata which will very likely bring us fully into the LB period on the basis of our deep sounding of the first season (1953).[8]

In level 6-C in one part of the plaster floor of the large courtyard of sub-areas A-12 and A-11, mentioned above (see Fig. 2, upper right), the plaster floor sloped down irregularly and abruptly to a point approximately a meter lower (550 cms.) than the main level of the over-all plaster floor (445 cms.). This may have been caused by one of the destructions of the city in the Iron Age when the upper part of the walls of level 6-C came crashing down and depressed the plaster floor. In this depressed area the pieces of a large twelve-handled jar were found all

[8] The deep sounding in sub-area D-7 at the top of the side slope of the *tell* yielded Iron I and Late Bronze materials in the first two meters (BULLETIN, No. 131, p. 18). Since the surface of D-7 is approximately 5 to 6 meters below that of A-12, the next two meters of A-12 will more than likely bring us fully into LB.

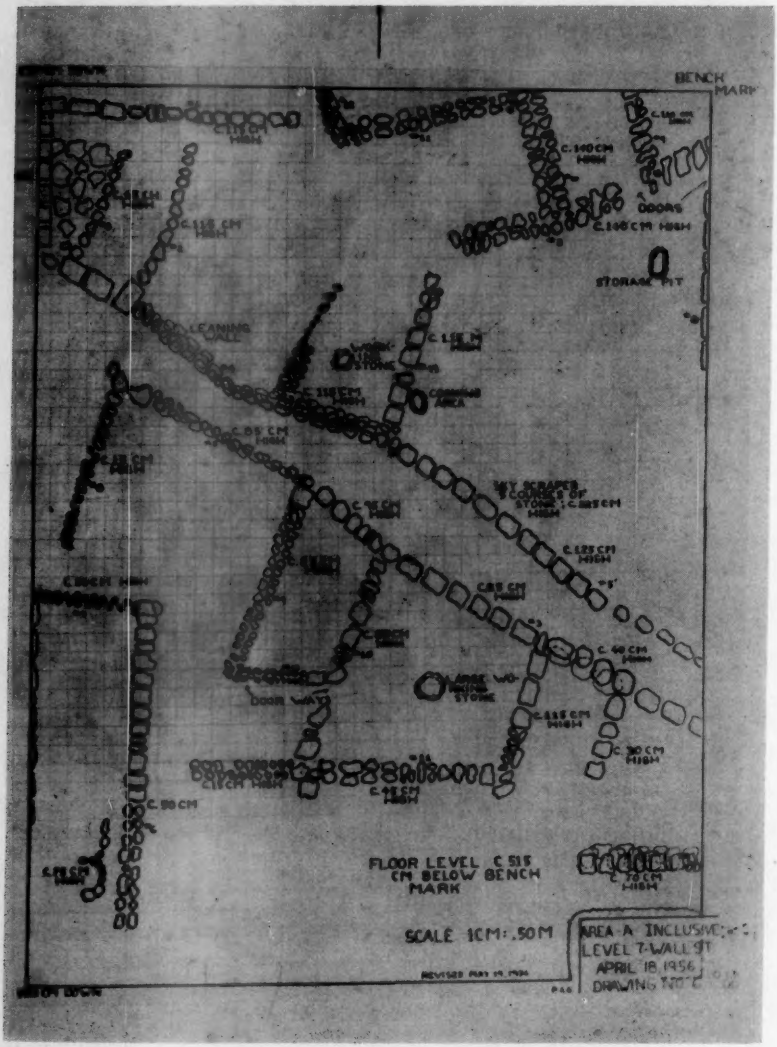

FIG. 2. Plan of A area (A-4 through A-12) showing Wall Street running diagonally for 70½ feet through center, and houses and rooms of levels 6-C and 7-A (Iron Age). Upper right, large courtyard with plaster floor and storage chamber. Note effects of intrusion in removing parts of walls, upper center.

through the various levels in the one-meter depth of material (445-550 cms.).[9]

In the 1955 excavation in A-8 and A-11 two long heavy parallel walls averaging four feet (1.20 meters) apart proved to be the two sides of a street which we called "Wall Street."[10] In 1955 we uncovered it for a distance of 9.50 meters. In this year's excavation (1956) we removed the catwalk[11] at the west end of Wall Street between sub-areas A-8 and A-5, and also went lower in sub-areas A-5 and A-6, uncovering Wall Street to a distance of 21.50 meters (see Fig. 2). Later on during the last ten days of the season we opened a new sub-area (A-13) to the east of A-10 and also removed the catwalk to the west of A-6, which showed that Wall Street continued both east and west. It is now uncovered to a length of 111 feet (33.50 m.). Wall Street lasted through several centuries of the Iron Age including Levels 6-A, 6-B, 6-C, 7-A, and 7-B. It yielded a much higher sherd count than the houses on either side of the street, and the sherds were small, showing that they had been worn down through the years by the tramping of the ancient Dothanites. One could always spot in an instant the sherd piles from Wall Street on the pottery mat—the individual sherds averaged one-third the size of those from the houses on each side of the street.

The areas south of Wall Street (A-4, 5, 7, 10 and part of A-8) yielded a number of houses (or rooms) which were used in the 6-B and 6-C levels. A number of these house walls also continued from 6-C into the 7-A level (445-515 cms.) Level 7-A, where our main excavation terminated this year,[12] contained seven houses (or rooms) south of Wall Street and eight on the north side, giving a total of fifteen houses (or rooms), and parts of several others which continue into the surrounding vertical faces. All of this lies in an area c. 63 × 80 feet (19 × 24 meters; A-4 through A-12) (Fig. 2).

Level 7-A (445-515 cms.) appears to be Iron I, probably the earlier part, as implied by the lamps, painted sherds, and other evidence of this level. It yielded a number of interesting objects, including a pottery wheel presumably from a child's toy,[13] part of an Astarte plaque with rounded back (rather than flat), a feathered bone object (probably tip for wand[14]), four links of a small copper chain, a small carved head of a lion, a number of strainers and strainer spouts, chalices and parts of

[9] The main part of level 6-C terminated at 445 cms. This depressed area, 445-550 cms., was labeled 6-D to keep it separate from the next main level, 7-A, which ran from 445 to 515 cms.

[10] BULLETIN, No. 139, pp. 6-7. At the highest point it stood 7 feet high.

[11] Visible at the far end of Wall Street in photo, *ibid.*, Fig. 2, p. 7.

[12] We continued a short distance into level 7-B in several sub-areas. For summary of A area levels 1-5, see BULLETIN 139, p. 5, note 10.

Summary of 1956 levels in A-12 and adjacent areas: level 6-A, 245-350 cms., Iron II, c. 900-800 B.C.; level 6-B, 350-410 cms., Iron II, c. 1000-900 B.C.; level 6-C, 410-445 cms., Iron I, before 1000 B.C.; level 7-A, 445-515 cms., Iron I. For the termination of level 6-A at 350 cms., rather than 365 as in BULLETIN 139, p. 5, note 10, see footnote 6 in this article.

[13] Similar to those in *Megiddo II*, pl. 257, Nos. 6, 7, and 8.

[14] Suggested by Mr. G. Lankester Harding.

chalices, and a jar-lid stamp showing a man with upraised arms standing before a lion.

This year we uncovered several piles of clay bricks.[15] In surveying the previous three seasons' work, it is noticeable that many other similar piles had been uncovered along the 200 foot area we have dug inside the south edge of the top of the mound. One is struck by the fact that most of them appear from five to fifteen meters inside the south edge of the top of the mound.[16] Usually they are more or less shapeless piles, with some bricks leaning against adjacent ones like rows of wooden soldiers partly fallen over. Near and under several of these piles of bricks we have found whole pottery, suggesting that in such cases they may be pottery furnaces. In a few cases it looks as though they may have been stacked piles of brick waiting to be used. So far no evidence has appeared to suggest that they were for the upper part of walls above lower courses of stone. These numerous piles of brick which may be collapsed pottery furnaces, along with quantities of ash, suggest that this section of Dothan may have been the "potters' quarter."

The second main area of concentration during the 1956 season was the "T area" which comprises the highest part of the "acropolis" area, which is the highest part of the mound of Dothan. The center of this year's excavation in the T area (T-1 through T-16) lies some 200 feet (60 meters) east of A-12. An area approximately 27 × 30 meters [17] was laid out to include a slight depression in the center measuring about 10 × 12 meters. This depression sloped in the center to a depth of 1.50 meters. At certain points around the depression building stones protruded an inch or two above the surface and in places gave indication of the line of walls. The whole area was strewn with hundreds of hewn building stones.

With the progress of excavation and the removal of hundreds of fallen scattered building stones,[18] the depression in the center of the T area took shape as a courtyard c. 35 × 42 feet (10.50 × 12.50 meters), surrounded by 25 rooms occupying the 90 × 100 foot space. From the rooms eleven doorways, varying from two to three feet in width (60 to 100 cms.) led into the court. All of the doorways had recessed jambs to receive a sturdy door. More than two dozen scattered door socket stones

[15] Principally in A-4, A-5, A-7, and A-10, a few meters from the top edge of the *tell*.

[16] In A-1, A-2, A-101, A-102, A-104, A-105, etc. See diagram, BULLETIN, No. 139, p. 4, Fig. 1.

[17] Actually 28 × 30 meters. Our sub-areas including cat-walks are regularly 7 meters east-west and 8 meters north-south. The T area for 1956 was 4 sub-areas east-west making a total of 28 meters and 4 sub-areas north-south making a total of 32 meters. We did not at first excavate the last meter east-west or the last two meters north-south, giving an area 27 × 30 meters, as noted above.

[18] The loan of Père de Vaux's Decauville (quarry) railroad for the last part of our 1956 season was a tremendous help in removing the hundreds of fallen stones—the T area supervisors are sure it should be reported as "thousands" of stones, and probably it should be! We actually removed two-thirds of the stones of the building before getting the intact lower course of the walls. Unfortunately for us nobody had re-used these fallen stones, though perhaps some stones were taken by those who robbed most of the courtyard pavement.

and drilled stones to receive door bolts were found during the course of excavation. The rooms of the building were evidently very well fortified with sturdy doors, bars, and bolts.

In room 20 some 25 whole and partial twisted opaque glass bracelets implied the presence of ladies in this area. Most of the other rooms yielded no bracelets at all. The bases of pottery bread ovens about 75 cms. in diameter in four different rooms and fragments of others indicated the preparation of quantities of food for the dwellers in the structure. The size of the rooms varied from 4.30 × 4.60 meters (room 22) and 5.50 × 5.90 meters (room 15) to a few smaller rooms like No. 24, c. 2.50 × 3.50 meters.

The stratification of the T area, below the first level of Arabic, follows a similar pattern yielded in three previous seasons of excavation: Hellenistic material preceded by Iron Age levels.

In the T area we found over 50 objects and in the A area over 200 pottery and stone objects, several dozen flints, a number of bronze pins and some iron objects, making a total of over 250 objects. The T area yielded over 43,900 sherds and the A area over 179,900, making a total of over 223,900. Over 2200 sherds were recorded.

The 1956 staff was comprised of the writer and Mrs. Ruby Free as directors; Miss DeViolette Bernhardt and Miss Rosa Veal of Spartanburg, S. C.; Mr. and Mrs. Donald Brown, former Wheaton students; and Mr. Dwain Eckberg and Mr. Peter Gerard, Wheaton students. Area supervising was in charge of Mrs. Free, Mr. Brown, Mr. Eckberg, and Mr. Gerard; photography was in charge of Miss Bernhardt assisted by Miss Veal; recording and alternate supervising was shared by Mrs. Brown, Miss Bernhardt, and Miss Veal. Drafting in the A area was done by Mr. Gerard and in the T area by Mr. Eckberg, and pottery sorting and classification was in charge of the director, assisted by the other members of the staff.

Helpful counsel was given by Mr. G. Lankester Harding, Director of the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, by Père R. de Vaux of the École Biblique, and by Father Sylvester Saller who has worked in later periods at Bethany and other sites. We plan a fifth season of excavation in 1957.

SAMUEL'S DENUNCIATION OF KINGSHIP IN THE LIGHT OF THE AKKADIAN DOCUMENTS FROM UGARIT

I. Mendelsohn

It is the general consensus of Old Testament scholars that the passage denouncing kingship in I Sam. 8:4-17 is a late document reflecting actual experience of the ways of Israelite and Judean kingship but put into the mouth of the first king-maker in order to lend to it authority. The thesis of this paper is that on the basis of the new data from Alalakh

and particularly from Ugarit,[1] dating from the 18th to the 13th century B. C., there is good reason to assume that the Samuel account is an authentic description of the semi-feudal Canaanite society as it existed prior to and during the time of Samuel and that its author could conceivably have been the prophet himself or a spokesman of the anti-monarchical movement of that period.

According to the text, the request of the " elders of Israel " to appoint a king over the people was resented by Samuel on two grounds: first, because human kingship would mean a denial of the sole rulership of God (vv. 6-8), and second, because it would result in abject slavery for the people (vv. 11-17). Samuel's second argument may be summarized as follows: the king will (1) establish a standing army consisting of draftees and professional warriors (vv. 11b-12a); (2) confiscate the people's lands and give those to his servants (v. 14); (3) impose upon them heavy taxes (vv. 15, 17a); and (4) force them to perform *corvée* labor (vv. 12b-13, 16). We shall now consider the Samuel statement, verse by verse, and present alongside each one the evidence of the new material.

1. Verses 11b-12a

> " *He* (the king) *will take your sons and appoint them to his chariots and to be his horsemen, and to run before his chariots; and he will appoint for himself commanders of thousands and commanders of fifties.*"

The Canaanite city-state, whether sovereign or subject to a foreign power, had at its disposal a small armed force consisting of conscripted foot soldiers and professional warriors. The first were recruited from the common people, and the second were selected from the ranks of the aristocracy and were known by the technical name *maryannu*.[2] Owing to their superior military equipment—particularly the horse-drawn chariot [3]—the *maryannu* occupied a highly privileged and leading position in Canaanite semi-feudal society. Their social status was hereditary and, not unlike the case in modern monarchies, only the king could elevate a commoner to the rank of a 'knight.' Thus king Niqmepa of Alalakh granted a *maryannu*-ship to one Qabiya, with the solemn declaration that none might take away that title from him and his successors forever.[4] Similarly, two commoners and their sons were raised to membership of the *maryannu*-class in Ugarit, one named Adalsheni by king Ammistamru and the other, named Abdu, by king Arḫalbu.[5] For their

[1] D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, 1953 (abbr. *Alalakh*); J. Nougayrol, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit* III, ed. by Claude F.-A. Schaeffer (*Mission de Ras Shamra*, VI), 1955 (abbr. PRU).

[2] For the latest discussion on the *maryannu* (but without reference to Alalakh and the Akkadian texts from Ugarit) cf. R. T. O'Callaghan, "New Light on the Maryannu as 'Chariot-Warriors,'" *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung*, v. 1 (1950), 309 ff.

[3] Cf. *Alalakh*, p. 11 and Nos. 128, 130-131, 138, 143-144, 149, 150; and PRU No. 12.34: 24, 30.

[4] *Alalakh*, No. 15.

[5] PRU Nos. 16.132; 16.239.

services to the king the *maryannu* received crown lands, and the income derived from those estates provided them with the means of maintaining themselves and their expensive war equipment. The exact nature of the 'services'[6] incumbent upon a *maryannu* is nowhere stated in the texts under discussion. In one of the two Ugaritic documents mentioned above, the newly appointed 'knight' was released from performing certain personal tasks for the king and from paying the tithe,[7] while in the other case, the *maryannu* was exempt only from the personal service but was obliged, however, to pay the tithe.[8] These exemptions prove the rule, namely, that in addition to the military duty which was his primary function, the *maryannu*, like any other fief-holder, was subject to definite obligations to the king, unless he was specifically exempted from performing them.

2. Verse 14

"*He will take the best of your fields and vineyards and olive orchards and give them to his servants.*"

The Canaanite king was 'a merchant prince' and he engaged in all sorts of commercial and industrial enterprises.[9] The main source of his income, however, was derived from the crown lands which the king amassed by expropriation as a result of victorious wars, by confiscation,[10] and by purchase. The Akkadian documents from the royal palace of Ugarit present us with a vivid picture of the management of the royal domains and the revenues derived from them by the king's treasury. Crown lands (*eqlāti ša šarri* "royal lands")[11] were granted by the king to members of his own family, to high state officials, and to other per-

[6] In text PRU No. 16.132: 29-30 the *maryannu* promises "to work for the king very very hard" (*a-na šarri bēli-šu a-ni-iḫ dan-niš dan-niš-ma*); see also *ibid.*, Nos. 16.157: 24; 16.238: 15 etc.

[7] PRU No. 16.132.

[8] *Ibid.*, No. 16.239.

[9] The Alalakhian kings engaged actively in lending money on personal security and at interest (cf. *Alalakh*, Nos. *18-*32, *35, *41, 49 etc.); in buying lands often consisting of whole villages and towns (cf. *ibid.*, Nos. *52-*57 etc.); in exchanging real estate property with private owners (cf. *ibid.*, Nos. *76-*80 etc.); in buying slaves (cf. *ibid.*, Nos. *61, 66, 71); and in other commercial transactions (cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 81, *98, 111, 127). The kings owned large herds and flocks. In one case a delivery-memorandum mentions 28,000 sheep from Carchemish (*ibid.*, No. *349). Also the kings of Ugarit engaged in selling and buying lands. In some cases the sum paid by an individual for the land received from the king is characterized by the phrase *šimti-šu gamirti* "its (the land's) full price" (cf. PRU Nos. 15.109: 17; 16.135: 7; 16.174: 12). Since the same term is employed also in private sales (cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 15.139: 4; 16.156: 10 etc.) it may be assumed that whenever this phrase is used in transactions between a private person and the king, the action represents an outright sale and not the transfer of fief-land from one recipient to another. For the commercial activities of the Syrian and Palestinian kings in the El-Amarna period cf. Knudtzon, Die *El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Nos. 113: 14; 114: 17-18; 126: 4 ff.; Albright, "A Prince of Taanach . . . ," BASOR 94 (1944), p. 17; and Dossin, RA 31 (1934), p. 126 ff.

[10] Cf. *Alalakh*, Nos. 17 and 410. In the latter case it is reported that king Ammitaqum confiscated 3,100 small and 320 large cattle from his enemies. See also II Sam. 9: 7; 16: 4 and 19: 30; I Kings 21: 15.

[11] Cf. PRU Nos. 16.150: 8 and 16.201: 11.

sons [12] under the condition that the recipient of the fief perform definite services for and pay stipulated taxes to the palace. A fief-holder is in some cases referred to in the texts as *ardišu* "his (the king's) servant." [13] The crown lands consisted of fields, vineyards, orchards, and olive-yards [14] which often included such movable property on the land as sheep, oxen, asses, and slaves.[15]

3. Verses 15, 17a

> "*He will take the tenth of your grain and of your vineyards and give it to his officers and to his servants; he will take the tenth of your flocks.*"

To maintain himself and the government apparatus the king imposed a variety of taxes upon the people. The texts from Ugarit mention the following taxes and duties.—*The Tithe*: The tenth (*ma'šaru, mēšertu*) [16] was imposed on the products of the field and on cattle. In one case the text specifically states that the fief-holder has to pay the *ma'šaru*,[17] in another case the recipients are exempted from it,[18] while in a third case the king awarded the revenues of a whole town, including that of the tithe, to the commissioner of that settlement.[19] It is, however, obvious that when the texts state that a fief-holder "is exempted (*zaki*) from bringing into the palace" (*ana ēkallim lā irub/ ul erub/ lā ušērab*) his grain, his oil, his intoxicating drinks (*šikāru*), his oxen, his sheep, and his asses,[20] the reference is to the tithe of those products and cattle, though the term *ma'šaru* is left out in the documents.— *Grazing Tax*: A grazing tax called *maqqadu* is mentioned once in relation to sheep of a fief-holder.[21] It was most probably a tax levied on those who pastured their flocks on royal land.—*Pilku*: The exact nature of the *pilku*-tax is not stated in the documents.[22] An analysis of the texts in which this

[12] The technical term employed for the transfer of fief-land by the king from one fief-holder to another is *našū—nadānu* "to raise" and "to give," meaning simply a business transaction (cf. Speiser's review of PRU in JAOS 75 [1955], p. 161); the fief-lands are often termed *nidnūti ša šarri* "royal grants," cf. PRU Nos. 15.140: 18; 16.178: 16; 16.204: ver. 6 etc. For a legal interpretation of the texts dealing with fiefs see G. Boyer's discussion "Le droit des fiefs à Ugarit," *ibid.*, pp. 293-299.

[13] PRU Nos. 16.189: 8; 16.247: 8; 16.260: 5.

[14] *Ibid.*, Nos. 15.132; 15.155; 16.148; 16.150; 16.255D etc.

[15] *Ibid.*, No. 16.148. The movable property of an estate is as a rule summarized by the phrase *qādu gabbi mimmūšu* "together with all its (other) possessions."

[16] Cf. Biblical *ma'ăšēr*.

[17] PRU No. 16.153.

[18] *Ibid.*, No. 16.276.

[19] *Ibid.*, No. 16.244.

[20] *Ibid.*, Nos. 16.132: 22-24; 16.238: 7-8; 16.269: 19-20 etc.

[21] *Ibid.*, No. 16.153: 12-13.

[22] Nougayrol (p. 226 f.) equates the term *pilku* with *ilku* and translates both as "service." As pointed out by Speiser (in his review of PRU in JAOS 75 [1955], p. 161) the term *pilku* is invariably used in these texts with the verb (*w*)*abālu* "to bring, contribute," and hence it must have been a payment due to the palace. The term *ilku* "feudal service," attached to particular lands, is mentioned several times in our texts. In three documents the fief-holders are exempted from performing it: *ilku yānu ina eqlāti annūti* "there is no *ilku*-service attached to these lands" (Nos. 15.140; 15.143; 15.155), and in a fourth text, dealing with a private sale

levy is mentioned shows that it was an obligatory payment incumbent upon lands and buildings whether in the possession of a private owner [23] or of a fief-holder.[24] In a number of texts it is specifically stated that the property is exempted from the *pilku*-payment (*pilku/a yānu*). In a case involving fief-land it meant that the king had released the recipient from that tax,[25] and in the case of a private owner, the seller presumably assumed the burden of the payment.[26] A *pilku*-tax was also attached to certain offices and occupations.[27]—*Toll*: A customs duty called *miksu* [28] on goods in transit.—*Contributions*: Occasional donations to the treasury called *kasap šarrākūti* and *širku* "offering money," and *kasap susapīnūti* "money (for serving) as the best man." [29]—*Fines*: The king was the beneficiary of two kinds of fines imposed by the state, one is referred to as *kasap diplatī* "money for breach of contract," and the other as *kasap zinḫa* "money (for heaping up) filth(?)." [30]

4. Verses 12b-13, 16

> "(*He will take your sons*) *to plow his ground and to reap his harvest, and to make his implements of war and the equipment of his chariots; he will take your daughters to be perfumers and cooks and bakers. He will take your male slaves and female slaves, and the best of your cattle* [31] *and your asses, and put them to his work.*"

That the common people were subject to *corvée* labor (consisting of the construction of roads, the erection of fortresses, the building of temples, and the tilling of crown lands) in Syria and Palestine in the middle of the second millennium B. C. we know from the reference to it in the alphabetic texts from Ugarit (*msm*) [32] and from the Amarna letters (*awēlūti mazza*).[33] In the Akkadian texts from Ugarit the term *msm* is not found. However, in a number of texts dealing with the transfer of crown lands from one fief-holder to another the king released the recipients from performing the *šipri šarri* "king's service," and the *šipri ēkallim* "palace service." The nature of those services is not stated. According to the texts the exemptions to perform them applied to the fief-holders themselves [34] and to their cattle and asses.[35] But in one

of land, the sellers are responsible for both the *ilku*-service and the *pilku*-payment (No. 16.156).

[23] PRU Nos. 15.123; 16.156.

[24] *Ibid.*, Nos. 16.204; 16.138.

[25] *Ibid.*, Nos. 15.145; 15.147 etc.

[26] *Ibid.*, Nos. 15.36; 15.167; 16.147; and see 16.156.

[27] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 227.

[28] *Ibid.*, Nos. 15.33: 27-28; 16.276: 9 and cf. *Alalakh*, No. 108.

[29] *Ibid.*, Nos. 16.153: 14-15; 16.244: 4; 16.276: 10.

[30] *Ibid.*, No. 16.244: 5-6; for the term *zinḫa* see now B. Landsberger, *Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon* III, p. 59.

[31] Reading *beqarkhem* instead of *baḥûrêkhem*.

[32] Cf. Virolleaud, *Syria* 18 (1937), p. 164.

[33] Cf. Thureau-Dangin, RA 19 (1922), p. 97; Albright, BASOR 94 (1944), p. 22. The *corvée* was unknown in Israelite Palestine during the period of the Judges, but it reappeared with the beginning of the monarchy.

[34] PRU Nos. 16.269; 16.348; 16.384.

[35] *Ibid.*, No. 15.114; see also No. 16.188.

document the exemption from the duty of "the king's service" is extended also to the people settled on the fief-lands: *amēlū*(pl.)-[*šu-nu*] *i-na š*[*i-ip-ri*] *šarri*(*ri*) [. . . *lā il-l*]*a-ku* "[their] people [shall not] perform the king's s[ervice]." [36] This can only mean that in that exceptional case the tenants of those fiefs were exempted from performing forced labor for the king. We thus come to the conclusion that the technical terms *šipri šarri* and *šipri ēkallim* must have included among other obligations also the duty of *corvée* labor. The Samuel text (v. 16) says that the king "will take your male slaves and female slaves . . . and put them to work." In Late Babylonia slaves were subject to the *corvée* [37] and this practice may have been in force also in Canaan, but the extant texts make no mention of it.

In view of the evidence from the Akkadian texts from Ugarit it seems obvious that the Samuel summary of "the manner of the king" does not constitute 'a rewriting of history' by a late opponent of kingship but represents an eloquent appeal to the people by a contemporary of Saul not to impose upon themselves a Canaanite institution alien to their own way of life.[38]

NEW EVIDENCE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LAST KINGS OF JUDAH

Edwin R. Thiele

Babylonian texts recently published by Prof. Wiseman, mentioning the activities of Nebuchadnezzar in western Asia during the closing years of Judah's history,[1] provide welcome evidence which helps materially to fix the chronology of that period. Of particular importance is the mention of Nebuchadnezzar's seizure of Jerusalem and capture of its king on the second of Adar in the seventh year of his reign, together with the appointment of a new king.[2] The date March 16, 597 B. C., is thus established for the end of the reign of Jehoiachin and the beginning of Zedekiah's rule. Since Jehoiachin reigned three months and ten days (II Chron. 36: 9), the date Marcheswan 22 (Dec. 8), 598, can be set for the beginning of Jehoiachin's reign and the close of that of Jehoiakim.

With these dates established, it would not appear to be much of a problem—with the aid of the chronological evidence in such books as Kings, Chronicles, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel—to establish the remaining dates

[36] *Ibid.*, No. 15.114: 15-18.

[37] Cf. I. Mendelsohn, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East*, p. 98 f.

[38] Saul's angry statement to his Benjaminites: "will the son of Jesse give every one of you fields and vineyards, will he make you all commanders of thousands and commanders of hundreds" (I Sam. 22: 7), could not possibly have been based on his own practice of appointing his followers to high military rank and granting them crown lands. Like Samuel before him, Saul drew his picture of the way of kingship from contemporary semi-feudal Canaanite society.

[1] D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* (London, 1956).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 73.

of that period. There are, however, certain problems concerning the exact meaning of the available evidence. The standard methods of chronological reckoning employed in the various lands of the ancient Near East are now rather definitely known, but we do not know that every scribe always followed standard procedure. As Nehemiah followed the custom of beginning the regnal years of Artaxerxes with Tishri (Neh. 1:1; 2:1), when the standard procedure in Persia was a Nisan year, we must face the possibility that other scribes might also have applied Hebrew customs to Babylonian kings, or Babylonian customs to Hebrew kings, or perhaps Egyptian customs to both Hebrew and Babylonian kings.

Let us observe what the dates would be for the closing period of Hebrew history as based on spring-to-spring or fall-to-fall regnal years. We have already noted that Jehoiakim's reign terminated on the twenty-second of Marcheswan (Dec. 8), 598 B. C. He reigned eleven years, which on the basis of spring-to-spring regnal years, would put the beginning of his reign some time after Nisan, 609, and before Nisan, 608. Preceding Jehoiakim on the throne was Jehoahaz, who reigned for three months after the death of Josiah at the hands of Necho as the latter was on his northward march to the Euphrates. Such a campaign would almost certainly come in the spring or early summer, and thus—on the basis of a regnal year beginning with Nisan—the reign of Josiah would have terminated and that of Jehoahaz begun in the spring or early summer of 609, and the reign of Jehoahaz would have terminated and that of Jehoiakim commenced late that summer or in the early fall.

According to a fall-to-fall calendar the death of Josiah and the accession of Jehoahaz could have taken place either in 609 or 608, depending upon the exact months when Jehoahaz began and terminated his three-month reign. If that reign began during or before the month of Sivan and terminated during or before Elul, the year was 608. But if it began in either Tammuz, Ab, or Elul, and carried over beyond the first of Tishri, the year was 609.

Coming to Jehoiachin, we noticed that the Babylonian evidence terminated his reign on the second of Adar (March 16), 597, which is likewise the date when Zedekiah began his reign. With Nebuchadnezzar beginning his final siege of Jerusalem on the tenth day of the tenth month of Zedekiah's ninth year (II Kings 25:1; Jer. 39:1; 52:4), the date would be Jan. 15, 588 B. C., either according to a spring-to-spring or fall-to-fall regnal year. The new Babylonian evidence enables us to recognize this date as final.

The siege of Jerusalem and the reign of Zedekiah terminated on the ninth day of the fourth month of Zedekiah's eleventh year (II Kings 25:2-7; Jer. 39:2-7; 52:5-11). With spring-to-spring regnal years this would be July 29, 587, but with regnal years beginning in the fall it would be July 19, 586. In the first instance this would be in Nebuchadnezzar's eighteenth year, and in the second instance it would be his nineteenth year. The determination of the question as to whether Nisan or Tishri regnal years were used would settle the problem concerning the date of Nebuchadnezzar's final capture of Jerusalem.

Let us first examine the evidence that points to Nisan reckoning.

In Jer. 46:2 we are told that Nebuchadnezzar's victory over Necho at Carchemish took place in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and in Jer. 25:1 the fourth year of Jehoiakim is equated with the first year of Nebuchadnezzar. Carchemish is now definitely dated by the new Babylonian evidence (B. M. 21946) in the twenty-first year of Nabopolassar, 605 B. C., when Nebuchadnezzar led his father's armies in a brilliant assault against the west. The Babylonian text provides no evidence for another battle at Carchemish the following year. The death of Nabopolassar, we are informed, took place on the eighth of Ab (Aug. 15, 605), and Nebuchadnezzar returned to Babylon to take the throne the first of Elul (Sept. 7). With the date Marcheswan 22 (Dec. 8), 598 now established for the close of Jehoiakim's reign, the fourth official year on a Tishri basis would not begin until Oct. 6, 605, whereas we now know that Carchemish was fought some months earlier. On the basis of a Nisan year, however, the fourth year of Jehoiakim began April 12, 605. Thus the 605 date for Carchemish points definitely to Nisan reckoning for the years of Jehoiakim in Jer. 46:2.

If the battle of Carchemish in 605 is not in accord with Tishri regnal years for Judah, it should be observed that neither are Jer. 25:1 and 46:2 in accord with standard Babylonian reckoning for Nebuchadnezzar,[3] for there the first official year did not begin until Nisan, 604. Prof. Albright has made the suggestion[4] that because of Nebuchadnezzar's taking his father's place so early in the western campaigns, Nabopolassar was given a year less in the western chronology and Nebuchadnezzar a year more, thus beginning his official Syro-Palestinian reign in Nisan, 605, a full year earlier than in Babylonia. Another possibility is that in Jeremiah the Egyptian method of dating might have been employed for Nebuchadnezzar as it was in the case of Persian kings a century later in the Aramaic papyri of the Jewish colony at Elephantine in Egypt. There the reign was begun with an official first rather than an accession year, and the year was begun with the first of Thoth instead of Nisan as was the custom in Babylon,[5] which in 605 was in January.

The question arises as to whether the custom of throwing back the reign of Nebuchadnezzar a full official year as found in Jer. 25:1; 46:2 is followed throughout Jeremiah, and whether the reference in 52:12 to the nineteenth year should therefore be to the actual eighteenth year, and the reference in 52:28, 29 to the seventh and eighteenth years should be to the sixth and seventeenth years respectively. That depends, of course, upon whether all of these items are of the same frame and from the same hand. The words, "Thus far are the words of Jeremiah," in 51:64 indi-

[3] In my *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (Chicago, 1951), pp. 160 f., I dated the battle of Carchemish in 604 on the assumption that Jer. 25:1 and 46:2 followed standard Babylonian reckoning, with Nebuchadnezzar's first year beginning in Nisan, 604, and that they began the regnal years of Jehoiakim with Tishri. On the present evidence of a 605 date for Carchemish, those assumptions must now be abandoned.

[4] In a personal letter to the writer of June 14, 1956.

[5] For a discussion of the methods of dating employed on these papyri see S. H. Horn and L. H. Wood, "The Fifth-Century Jewish Calendar at Elephantine," *JNES*, XIII, No. 1 (1954), pp. 1 ff.

cate that to be the close of Jeremiah's work. Chapter 52 bears every evidence of being an historical appendix to the book and is practically identical with II Kings 24:18-25:30, and comes from the same source. Verses 28-30, however, are definitely apart from the rest of the material in chapter 52 and come from yet another source. The chronological pattern " seven-eighteen " of 52:28, 29 has a striking similarity to that of " eight-nineteen " in II Kings 24:12; 25:8; and Jer. 52:12, and the possibility exists that the same years are involved, with the eighth and nineteenth years of Nebuchadnezzar in II Kings 24:12; 25:8; and Jer. 52:12 thrown one year back as in Jer. 25:1; 46:2; and with 52:28, 29 referring to the correct Babylonian years.

In II Kings 24:14-16 the exiles taken to Babylon at the time of Jehoiachin are said to have included " all the mighty men of valor, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths," " all the men of might, even seven thousand, and craftsmen and smiths a thousand, all that were strong and apt for war." This total in Nebuchadnezzar's eighth year is considerably in excess of the " three thousand Jews and three and twenty " of the seventh year mentioned in Jer. 52:28. And the " eight hundred thirty and two persons " mentioned in Jer. 52:29 as having been carried captive from Jerusalem in the eighteenth year would hardly appear to include all of " the rest of the people that were left in the city, and the fugitives that fell away to the king of Babylon, with the remnant of the multitude " of II Kings 25:11 who were carried away after Jerusalem's final fall in the nineteenth year. The number of 4,600 captives mentioned as the total for the three captivities of Jer. 52:28-30 would appear to a pitiably small and inadequate number for so large a city as Jerusalem and so important a nation as Judah and would hardly compare with the large totals of 27,290 captives from Samaria claimed by Sargon and the 200,150 from the 46 walled cites and their environs in Judah claimed by Sennacherib, nor would it be in accord with the fifty thousand Jews who chose to return from their Babylonian exile half a century later (Ezra 1:1, 2:64, 65). It seems to me much more plausible to regard the captivities of the seventh and eighteenth years as minor captivities, preliminary to the major captivities of the eighth and nineteenth years.

The details of the Egyptian campaign to the Euphrates in 609 as recorded on B. M. 21901 should be considered in connection with their bearing on the dates of Josiah, Jehoahaz, and Jehoiakim. Since it was in Tammuz that an Egyptian army marched with Ashur-uballit against Harran, the death of Josiah at the hand of Necho on his way to the Euphrates (II Kings 23:29, 30; II Chron. 35:20-25) and the accession of Jehoahaz could well have taken place early in Tammuz or in the latter part of the preceding month, Sivan. In such a case the three-month reign of Jehoahaz could have carried over into the month of Tishri. The Egyptian attack on Harran having terminated in Elul, the month before Tishri, Necho could well have made his return to Palestine in Tishri, with the deposition of Jehoahaz and the elevation of Jehoiakim to the throne taking place at that time. That would bring the reign of Jehoahaz in 609 rather than 608.

Regarding 608 as the possible year for Jehoahaz, it need only be said that B. M. 22047 makes no mention of Babylonian contacts with Egypt that year, but records a campaign against the hill people of Urartu, evidently to safegard the Babylonian right flank. In 607, however, Nabopolassar was again at the Euphrates, seizing the city of Kimuhu a little to the south of Carchemish, only to lose it again the following year to Egypt. The next year, 605, came Nebuchadnezzar's signal victory over Egypt at Carchemish. With the forces of Egypt so active in the Euphrates area from 609 to 605, the possibility of Necho making an appearance there in 608, although not expressly mentioned, can not be categorically dismissed. After a consideration of all the evidence, however, I am now inclined to date the termination of the reign of Josiah and the beginning of that of Jehoahaz in late Sivan or early Tammuz, 609, and the termination of the reign of Jehoahaz and the beginning of that of Jehoiakim in Tishri of the same year.

Let us briefly consider some of the points in favor of Tishri years in the closing period of Judah's history. It should be noted that if II Kings 25:8 and Jer. 52:12 have reference to the true nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar as the time of Jerusalem's fall, then the date is 586 and the reckoning for Zedekiah is on the basis of Tishri years.

The book of Ezekiel has data bearing on the question. In Eze. 40:1 the temple oracle is dated precisely to the " self-same day," marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of Jehoiachin's exile,—the tenth day of the first month,—and that occasion is said to have been in the fourteenth year after Jerusalem's destruction. In accord with these data the fall of the city would have taken place in the twelfth year of Jehoiachin's exile, and that is the year when an escapee brought word to Babylon of the city's fall (Eze. 33:21). In accord with these data Jehoiachin began his exile on the tenth of Nisan in the first year of Ezekiel's twenty-five year period. Such a precise day and month dating for the exile is supported by the statement in II Chron. 36:10 placing the beginning of the exile after the turn of the year. We now know that Jerusalem fell in Adar, the last month of the seventh year, but the departure for Babylon did not come till Nisan, the first month of the eighth year. It should be remembered, however, that the reference in II Kings 24:12 to the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar as the time of the captivity, might be based on a Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning of Nebuchadnezzar's regnal years, which would bring the fall of the city in Adar and the departure for Babylon in Nisan both in the eighth year.

If the twelfth year of Ezekiel's twenty-five year period of the temple oracle—the year in which Jerusalem fell—is dated in 587, Jehoiachin's exile would have begun on the tenth of Nisan (April 5), 598. But that would be eleven months before his capture on the second of Adar (March 16), 597. The above testimony from Ezekiel calls for the fall of Jerusalem in 586, in accord with Tishri regnal years for Zedekiah. The dates Nisan 10 (April 22), 597, for the beginning of Jehoiachin's exile, and July 19, 586, for Jerusalem's fall, come within the true eighth and nineteenth years of Nebuchadnezzar,—the years given in II Kings 24:12; 25:8; and Jer. 52:12.

That the above testimony of Ezekiel, Chronicles, and Kings is not without value in establishing the chronology for this period of Hebrew history is evidenced by the fact that it was this testimony that made possible my statement some years ago: "Every indication is that Jehoiachin went into captivity on Nisan 10 (April 22), 597," and, in regard to Jer. 36:30, to declare of Jehoiakim's death that "January or February in Palestine would fit perfectly the requirements of Jeremiah's prediction." [6] The death of Jehoiachin took place in December of that particular winter.

I have previously pointed out that it was standard procedure in Judah to begin the regnal year with Tishri, for that was the method employed by Solomon, and it is that type of reckoning which alone provides a harmonious pattern of reigns in accord with the chronological data in the books of Kings.[7] In II Kings 22:3 and 23:23 is found proof that Josiah employed a Tishri regnal year. And that this must have been regarded as Judah's traditional method of reckoning in the days of Nehemiah is indicated by the fact that it was that method which was employed by a Jewish scribe for Artaxerxes of Persia (Neh. 1:1; 2:1). The Jewish Aramaic papyri from Elephantine also provide evidence that the same method was employed in Egypt in secondary datings for the years of Persian kings.[8] It should, moreover, be noted that in Dan. 1:1 the first conquest of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar,—evidently during the same campaign of 605 in which Egypt was decisively defeated at Carchemish and Hamath, and in which Nebuchadnezzar "conquered the whole area of the Hatti-country," [9]—is dated in the third year of Jehoiakim. The third year dating for this campaign on a Tishri basis would be the same as the fourth year on a Nisan basis.

With the Hebrew scribes responsible for the chronological data of Kings so consistently following Tishri years, would exceptions have been made only in this closing period of Judah's history? Until the question of Nisan or Tishri years in the various references having to do with this period of Hebrew history can be settled with absolutely certainty, some doubts concerning certain dates will continue to exist. It is my belief that the evidence for Tishri dating for the kings of Judah is conclusive, and that such a date as 586 for the destruction of Jerusalem may be considered as final. Further evidence such as has been provided by Wiseman for Jehoiachin's captivity in 597 can alone remove all possibility of doubt.

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[6] Thiele, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-33. Cf. pp. 55-135.
[8] Horn and Wood, *op. cit.*, 14 ff.
[9] Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 69. See also pp. 23-27, 67.

THE NEBUCHADNEZZAR AND NERIGLISSAR CHRONICLES[1]

W. F. Albright

The Babylonian Chronicle and related texts from the eighth-sixth centuries B. C. are generally recognized as the most objective and historically reliable annals that have come down to us from the ancient Orient. The Babylonian Chronicle proper, which was published in 1887, extends from the accession of Tiglath-pileser III (745 B. C.) to that of Shamash-shumukin (668);[2] the copy which we possess was written in the year 500/499 B. C. and so must have been compiled from official sources still earlier. In addition to this invaluable document, a number of other parts of the same annalistic history are known, including especially the Nabopolassar Chronicle, published by C. J. Gadd in 1923, covering the events preceding and following the fall of Nineveh in 612, and the Nabonidus Chronicle, which relates the events leading up to the capture of Babylon by the Persians in 539 B. C.

Supplementing these priceless texts we now have Donald Wiseman's admirable publication of additional parts of the Nabopolassar Chronicle, part of a Nebuchadnezzar Chronicle, and part of a Neriglissar Chronicle. The texts which he publishes for the first time cover (completely or in fragmentary form) the years 626-623, 608-595, and 556 B. C.; he also gives us the text of Gadd's Nabopolassar Chronicle, which has long been out of print. All of these chronicles come from the treasures of the British Museum, where some of them have reposed for generations. How much remains to be recovered for the years 747-538 may be seen from the fact that our now extant tablets cover 121 years, leaving 88 years for texts yet to become known.

The new material is of particular importance for the years 608-595 and 556; it fixes the date of the fall of Jerusalem at the end of Joiachin's reign to the second of Adar in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar (15th/16th March, 597 B. C.). It also fully confirms my own identification of Babylonian *Ḫu-me-e*, pronounced approximately Khwê at that time, with Cilicia.[3] Putting off discussion of this matter for the moment, we turn to the Babylonian advance into Syria and Palestine after the capture of Harran in 609. My treatment of the sequence of dates and events, written in 1932, requires only slight revision; all the main points remain correct.[4] I was certainly correct in reading [*arkānu*]^{nu} *iḫḫisu*^{su}

[1] A review article on Donald Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum*; London, British Museum, 1956; xii + 99 pp. + 21 plates (10 by 7½ inches). We shall abbreviate the title as CCK.

[2] The dates in CCK, p. 1, include the entire reigns of the first and last kings mentioned.

[3] Bulletin, No. 120 (Dec., 1950), pp. 22 ff.

[4] In "The Seal of Eliakim and the Latest Preëxilic History of Judah, with Some Observations on Ezekiel" (*Jour. Bib. Lit.*, LI, pp. 77-106); see pp. 85 ff. for my chronological list and commentary. Every date in my table holds true after the new publication, except perhaps for the date of the first conquest of Judah by the Chaldaeans, which may have been in 604/3 instead of 603/2.

in the Nabopolassar Chronicle, line 69, instead of Gadd's and Wiseman's readings, and in rendering "afterwards they retired (from the siege)."[5] In other words, the ex-king of Assyria, Asshur-uballit, and his Egyptian allies failed to recapture Harran from the Babylonians and had to retreat across the Euphrates, while the Babylonian king (Nabopolassar) was able to reinforce his troops in Harran and march northward against southwestern Armenia. In 608/7 the Babylonians continued their conquest of the mountainous country north of northwestern Mesopotamia and included in the territory of Urashṭu (Ararat = Armenia) by the new Chronicle. The next year (607/6) the crown-prince, Nebuchadnezzar, again invaded southern Armenia (read perhaps *šadē ša māt Za-[m]a-[ ] = Zamani*), presumably in order to secure his right flank in the north against both his Egyptian foes and his Median allies. In the month of Elul Nebuchadnezzar returned to Babylon while his father crossed the Euphrates with his army and captured the city of Kimuḫu on the right bank.

The identification of this city has given Wiseman much difficulty, and I have had to change my views completely. Wiseman finally decided to locate it between Meskeneh (ancient Emar),[6] where the road from Aleppo to Babylon reaches the Euphrates, and Carchemish.[7] The trouble with this location is that the Babylonian left flank would be exposed to attack from the direction of Aleppo while the Babylonians were directing their attack against Carchemish. I wanted to locate it further to the south and east, in the direction of Raqqah. However, it now seems practically certain to me that *āl Ki-mu-ḫu* is the same as *āl Kum(m)uḫi* of the Assyrian royal inscriptions;[8] the dissimilation of the first vowel is common in Accadian. Since it was situated on the right bank of the Euphrates we must probably identify it with later Samosata or a site in its neighborhood.[9] The Babylonians had already conquered the mountainous regions directly to the east of the Euphrates, so this city would provide an admirable base of operations against Carchemish, where the Egyptian army was installed. The Egyptians recognized this fact and launched a four-month attack on Kimuḫu which finally succeeded. The Babylonian counter-attack came from the town of Quramati on the left bank of the Euphrates; they raided across the river but the Egyptians attacked Quramati in force and the Babylonians retreated. Quramati is

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 87, n. 33.

[6] For Emar cf. BULLETIN, No. 118, p. 16 and especially the Imar of the Mari texts, which G. Dossin has located definitely at Meskeneh.

[7] Carchemish appears as *Galgamiš* in the Chronicles, with the same phonetic form as the Hurrian name of Gilgamesh (which I connected many years ago tentatively with the fact that Gilgamesh seems to have been a [or the] city hero of Carchemish, judging from reliefs).

[8] There seems to be a little misunderstanding in CCK, p. 83, on line 13: E. Forrer pointed out for the first time in *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (1921), p. 17, that *māt KUD-mu-ḫi* of the earlier inscriptions (down into the ninth century B. C.) was to be read *Kudmuḫ* and that the reading *Kummuḫ* had neither cuneiform nor geographical warrant. There is no basis for separating the occasional Assyrian spelling of the name for "Commagene" as *Kumuḫ* from the usual *Kummuḫ*.

[9] See Forrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 f.

known elsewhere; it must be identified with the *Ku-ra-mi-ta*[10] of the Tuthmosis III List, No. 307, mentioned after Ibra = Ibla. To cut a long story short, neither my location of Quramati near Raqqah, southwest of Tell el-Biya' at the confluence of the Euphrates and Balikh, which I formerly identified with Ibla,[11] nor Wiseman's location across the Euphrates from Meskeneh, is acceptable. The study of an Old-Babylonian itinerary and similar data by A. Goetze[12] makes it clear that Urshu (associated with Ibla in early texts) lay considerably farther to the northwest, and he locates it in southwestern Commagene. I should think seriously of Rum Kale, where the route up the Euphrates Valley turns off into Asia Minor; the area is known to have been important in antiquity. Ibla may possibly have been at Zeugma, south of Rum Kale, above which the Euphrates can no longer be called "navigable." A good guess for Quramati would be at or near Birecik (Apamea),[13] just opposite Zeugma, an ideal point from which to launch a Babylonian attack in order to outflank the Egyptian garrison at Kimuḫu and threaten Carchemish directly. There would be no difficulty involved in a northward march up the Euphrates Valley opposite Carchemish, since the Babylonians controlled the region east of the river.

Now began a new phase of Chaldaean expansion westward. In 605/4 Nabopolassar remained at home and his son attacked the Egyptian army at Carchemish and defeated it, just as we are told by Jeremiah (46:2 ff.) in some of his most vivid poetry. This victory was followed by an even more crushing blow at Hamath, which left the whole of Syria and Palestine open to the Chaldaean advance. Unfortunately we do not know how far Nebuchadnezzar actually advanced before news reached him of his father's death on the 8th of Ab (15/16th August, 605). He returned to Babylon and "on the first of Elul he sat on the royal throne." However, he returned that very autumn to Syria and apparently occupied most of Greater Syria during this campaign and the following, after being formally installed as king in Nisan of 604/3. There can be little

[10] The identity of the first two vowels is striking, especially since the final vowel in the Neo-Babylonian form was not pronounced and the preceding *a* was presumably taken as part of the feminine ending *at*. Initial *Q* and *K* constantly interchange before *u*. For the Egyptian syllabic orthography see a forthcoming paper by T. O. Lambdin and myself, bringing the treatment which I gave in 1934 up to date, with a great deal of new material.

[11] See BULLETIN, No. 78 (1940), p. 29. This localization was regarded favorably by J. R. Kupper, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, XLIII (1949), p. 86, but it now seems too far from Urshu (Ursu), which has been proved by Kupper and Goetze to lie on or near the Euphrates, west of that river and probably north of Carchemish. Ursu and Ibla are associated too closely in the inscriptions of Gudea and Ur III to be separated so far.

[12] *Jour. Cun. Studies*, VII (1953), pp. 51-72. While I think that J. Lewy's geographical analysis of the Babylonian itinerary proper in *Mélanges Isidore Lévy* (Brussels, 1955), pp. 293-321, is much closer to the truth than Goetze's reconstruction (which is thrown off by Landsberger's forced identification of Shamshi-Adad's capital at Shubat-Ellil with the minor site of Cager Pazar, excavated by M. L. Mallowan), Goetze's study is full of valuable material.

[13] Birecik was formerly identified with Til Barsip, long since known to have been located at Tell el-Aḥmar, on the left bank of the Euphrates south of Carchemish.

doubt that Nebuchadnezzar did not have as easy a task between the Battle of Carchemish (probably in the early summer of 605) and his attack on Egypt in December, 601, as might be inferred from the translation of *šalṭāniš* four times as "unopposed"; actually the adverb means "victoriously," and suggests that the Babylonians met with stiff resistance from both the local population and its Egyptian suzerains and allies. By this time such an energetic king as Necho had doubtless sent strong armies of his Mediterranean auxiliaries (Greek, Carians, and others) into Phoenicia and Palestine to resist the dreaded Chaldaeans. How the latter were feared, is vividly illustrated in the oracles of Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and other prophets of Judah. It is most unlikely that the Chaldaeans occupied Judah before the capture and destruction of Ascalon in December, 604,[14] and since the next two years were apparently devoted to continued fighting in Greater Syria, I should consider it unlikely that Judah was actually invaded until some time in 603/2. In December, 601, the Chaldaeans invaded Egypt and a pitched battle was fought in which both sides are said to have suffered heavy casualties. The Babylonian army returned home and the king is said to have devoted the following year (600/599) to reorganizing his army on a more powerful basis, and 599/598 was characterized by military operations in North Arabia, where Nebuchadnezzar seems to have made an effort to get control of the caravan routes, which had never been a richer target than in the sixth century B. C.[15] Meanwhile Joiakim had been in open rebellion, encouraged by the resurgence of Egyptian strength. The next major Chaldaean campaign was therefore directed against Judah, which was speedily conquered; on the 15/16th March, 697, Jerusalem fell: "he took the city, captured the king, appointed to it a king after his own heart, took heavy tribute and sent it to Babylon." From the Bible and the ration lists[16] we learn that a considerable number of persons were exiled to Babylonia.

So far we have not touched the vexed problem of chronology. How much discussion there is likely to be, can be gauged by Professor Thiele's interesting paper in this number of the BULLETIN. I will state my position briefly. First, I see no escape from dating the Battle of Megiddo in the spring of 609, since there was a massive Egyptian attack on Harran later that summer, whereas not a word is said about Egyptian military movements in 608. Second, the new date for the capture of Joiachin makes it certain, in my judgment, that Zedekiah's reign must be reckoned

[14] For the situation at Ascalon just before the Chaldaean onslaught see H. L. Ginsberg's study of the Saqqârah papyrus (published by Dupont-Sommer) in BULLETIN, No. 111, pp. 24-27. In this text we read: ". . . the troops of the king of Babylon had reached Aphek . . . to send an army to save me . . ." This Aphek can be only the place by this name at the source of the 'Aujā river north of Joppa, as I pointed out (*apud Ginsberg*, p. 26, n. 7), so in the light of our present information Adon must have been king of Ascalon. The Aramaic letter was presumably written in the autumn of 604.

[15] See Berta Segall, "The Arts and King Nabonidus" (*Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, 59 [1955], pp. 315-318 and Plate 93).

[16] See my discussion of the texts (published by E. F. Weidner in *Mélanges Dussaud*, Vol. II, pp. 923 ff.) in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, V (1942), pp. 49-55.

from the old religious and new civil year which began in Nisan, 597. The second fall of Jerusalem to the Chaldaeans was reckoned as falling in the fifth month of Zedekiah's eleventh year, i. e., in July-August, 587.[17] As a result of the new Chronicle I have slightly changed my own interpretation of the regnal years of Nebuchadnezzar given throughout Jeremiah except in the passage 52:28-30, which does not appear at all in the Western recension and was, therefore, probably inserted later in Babylonia.[18] The Jeremianic regnal years of Nebuchadnezzar are all one year too high, from the Babylonian point of view: the Battle of Carchemish was actually fought while he was still crown prince, and the two falls of Jerusalem were in his seventh and eighteenth years, not in the eighth and nineteenth. This is correctly stated in the interpolated passage which we have mentioned. It is well known that there was a difference of a year in two methods of reckoning the reign of Sennacherib,[19] so I propose that we assume the same to have happened in reckoning the years of Nebuchadnezzar. In the West the latter had been king *de facto* since he took command of the army in the last months of 606/5, after his father had returned in Shebat (roughly February) to Babylonia. During the whole of the following spring and summer, until his father's death, Nebuchadnezzar was in sole command of the army in the field, as far as we know. Under such circumstances it would scarcely be remarkable if his western subordinates began to reckon his regnal years in 605/4 instead of a year later. The chronology of Jeremiah would then be the normal Western calculation, and not a specifically Jewish way of counting years.

The long account of the campaign of Neriglissar in Asia Minor (556 B. C.) is of the utmost historical importance, showing that the Chaldaean Empire was much more powerful than most scholars had supposed. It entirely confirms my reconstruction of the relations between Cilicia and the Chaldaean kings which was published six years ago in the BULLETIN; (*māt*) *Ḫu-me-e* (pronounced in Neo-Babylonian *Ḫuwē*) is identical with Assyrian and Aramaean *Quwē* (mentioned once in the Bible, in connection with the story of Solomon).[20] On the other hand, my "strong suspicion" that the land of Pirindu mentioned in the ration-lists of Nebuchadnezzar, was the Samian colony of Perinthus west of Byzantium, has proved to be entirely wrong; the name was actually applied to Cilicia Trachea, between the fertile part of the country to the east and Pamphylia (called simply "Lydia" in our Chronicle) to the west. The

[17] For chronological details see the classic treatment by F. X. Kugler in *Von Moses bis Paulus* (1922), pp. 182 ff.

[18] For the Hebrew textual background of the Greek recension of Jeremiah see my remarks in BULLETIN, No. 140 (1955), p. 33. Mr. Alger F. Johns has plausibly suggested that Jer. 52: 28-30, which is not included in the Greek, was added in Babylonia when the prototype of the present Hebrew text was edited (probably in the late sixth or early fifth century B. C.); this would explain why it follows standard Babylonian dating, contrary to the practice in the rest of the book.

[19] This was proved by J. Lewy, "The Chronology of Sennacherib's Accession," in *Analecta Orientalia*, 12 (1935), pp. 225-231.

[20] Cf. my remarks in *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 3rd ed. (1953), pp. 135, 213, 230.

identifications of *Ura'* (the *aleph* was used in Neo-Babylonian to indicate the present of a final vowel, since final short vowels were not pronounced) with Cilician *Ura*, later Olba, and of the island town of Pitusu with Greek Pityussa are definitive and very important.[21]

A very interesting point in these new chronicles is that they employ a number of loanwords from Aramaic: *bīrānātu*, "fortresses," *sapīnātu*, "ships," and *ṣāpītu*, "tower." The first word is derived from *bîrtâ*,[22] "fortress" (Heb. *bîráh*), to which a lost Aramaic plural **bîrânâṯâ* was formed; the Hebrew loanword *bîrânîyôt* (twice in II. Chron.) is perhaps a scribal mistake for **bîrânôt*. The second (Aram. *sefînâṯâ*) was taken over also in Late Hebrew as *s^{e}fînáh* (Jonah 1:5), and the third is quite common in Aramaic place-names (corresponding to a written *ṣâfîṯâ*, fem. particle *qal* of *ṢPY*, "to watch," Heb. *miṣpáh*, "tower"). Since the chronicles were written down between the end of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth,[23] this is scarcely surprising.

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[21] One minor correction in translating lines 20-23 may be allowed; I should render: "The town of Pitusu, a mountain which is in the midst of the ocean, and six thousand fighting men who had gone up into it with ships he captured. His (Appuashu's) town(s) were destroyed and his people were captured (*āl‹āni›šu ittablū u nīšēšu uṣṣabitā*, with passive verbs)." The last sentence refers to the towns of Pirindu in general, not merely to Pitusu.

[22] Of course, this Aramaic word is itself ultimately a loan from Accadian *birtu*. I do not recall having seen the obviously correct etymology of the latter from the stem *WBR*, which appears in Old Assyrian *wabrum*, *wabartum*, "settlement, station" (in later Accadian *abru*, "abode, nest, settlement"); see J. Lewy, *Mitt. der Vorderasiat.-aegypt. Ges.*, 33 (1930), p. 287, n. d, with references. In Arabic the very old word *wabar* is preserved in *ahlu 'l-wabar*, "nomads," in contrast to *ahlu 'l-madar*, "settled folk"; the expression appears also in Accadian *nīšē abrāti*, which originally seems to have meant "settled people"; such shifts in meaning are common, as in Heb. *'óhel* (properly *'ahl*, as in South Canaanite and Ugaritic), "tent," and Accad. *ālu*, "town" (for **'ahlu*). *Birtu* is a form like *šubtu*, "abode" (for **šibtu* from *wašābu*), and the long vowel in Aramaic and Hebrew is secondary.

[23] It is quite possible that we owe the composition of the Babylonian Chronicle to the antiquarian enthusiasm of Nabonidus, just as we owe the Deuteronomic History (including Joshua, Judges, I-II Samuel, I-II Kings) directly or indirectly to Josiah. In this case the abbreviated account of Nabonidus's own reign, which is rather surprising after the detailed account of his immediate predecessors' reigns, would be a later addition, just as are the Seleucid tablets of a similar compilation.

SOME BOOKS RECEIVED BY THE EDITOR

(*Continued from No. 142, p. 39*)

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

There has been notable progress in this field since 1953. Two quarto volumes of original material have appeared: **E. L. Sukenik's** posthumous volume, *Otsar ham-Megillôt hag-Genûzôt* ("Treasury of Stored-up Documents"), Jerusalem, Hebrew University, 1954, 40 + 58 pp. and 18 + 58 plates; **D. Barthélemy,** O. P. and **J. T. Milik,** with contributions by **R. de Vaux,** O. P., **G. M. Crowfoot, H. J. Plenderleith, G. L. Harding** on *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert,* I: *Qumran Cave I* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955, xii + 165 pp. and 37 plates). Sukenik's work has been prepared for publication by **N. Avigad** and includes the Second Isaiah Scroll, the War Scroll, and the Thanksgiving Hymns, all reproduced in excellent photography and with meticulously exact transcription (which does not mean that improvements cannot be made but simply that the initial standard is extremely high). The Oxford volume contains an admirable description of the excavation of Cave 1, including particularly Mrs. Crowfoot's description of the linen textile wrappings. Barthélemy and Milik have performed an extraordinary job of piecing together and identifying hundreds of the fragments excavated by the expedition, as well as longer pieces dug clandestinely and purchased by the Palestine Museum or otherwise available. While their Hebrew leaves something to be desired, their editorial labor merits the heartiest applause.

Dr. **Yigael Yadin** (otherwise known as Major-General Yadin, former chief-of-staff in the Israeli army) lost no time in leaving military service and devoting himself to scholarly research (he is now completing a brilliantly successful second year at the great site of Hazor in Galilee). Nothing was more fitting than that he should publish the first volume of interpretation of the magnificent scrolls purchased by his father, the late E. L. Sukenik, for the Hebrew University: English title, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Jerusalem, the Bialik Institute, 1955, 8vo, xvii + 397 + vi pp., with a folding chart). This splendid study draws upon the author's combined military, historical, and philological training, and is one of the best pioneer investigations of the kind ever published in the field of Near and Middle Eastern studies. He dates the composition of the work between the time of Pompey and that of Augustus, i. e., somewhere between 60 B. C. and the Christian era, with a preference (which I share) for the period between 60 and 30 B. C. (I should date the extant MS between cir. 30 B. C. and the first decades of the Christian era.) An English edition of this invaluable book is scheduled to appear soon (Oxford University Press).

Two excellent monographic studies on the Scrolls are: **Karl Elliger's** *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie,* 15), Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1953, 8vo, xiii + 302 + 15 pp.; **Friedrich Nötscher's** *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte* (*Bonner Biblische Beiträge,* No. 10), Bonn, Peter Hanstein, 1956, 8vo, 201 pp. Elliger has given us one of his careful and thoroughly documented studies, which is a "must" for all students of the Scrolls; his date for its composition in the first decades of Roman rule, between 63 and 37 B. C. (p. 274) seems highly probably to me and is, in fact, the date which I have adopted for the past few years. Nötscher's study actually gives much more than he claims; it is a comprehensive survey of the theology of the Essenes in the light of intertestamental and New Testament literature. Needless to say, both volumes will become somewhat antiquated with the advance of knowledge, according to the inevitable fate of all serious pioneer investigation of any field which is developing so rapidly.

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

(*To be continued*)

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THE ANNUAL (edited by F. V. Winnett); Vols. I-IV are out of print (Vols. XX (Speiser) and XXIII (Kramer) have been lithoprinted and are available at $10.00 and $6.00 respectively). Vol. XXXI (A. Goetze, *Laws of Eshnunna*) costs only $4.00.

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EXCAVATIONS (published by the University of Pennsylvania Press). Vol. I, out of print. Vol. II, *Tepe Gawra*, A. J. Tobler, 1950. $10.00.

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EXCAVATIONS (Harvard University Press). *Nuzi, Report on the Excavations at Yorgan Tepe near Kirkuk, Iraq.* R. F. S. Starr. Vol. 1 (Text) $5; Vol. II (Plates) $10.00.

GERASA, CITY OF THE DECAPOLIS, ed. C. H. Kraeling. 1938. $10.00.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE JORDAN. Nelson Glueck, 1940. $1.75 (lithoprinted).

WHAT MEAN THESE STONES? Millar Burrows, 1941. $1.50 (lithoprinted).

MATHEMATICAL CUNEIFORM TEXTS (Published jointly with the American Oriental Society). Ed. O. Neugebauer and A. Sachs. 1945. $5.00.

TELL EN-NASBEH. (Published jointly with the Palestine Institute, Pacific School of Religion.) Ed. C. C. McCown. 1947. Vol. I, $12; Vol. II, $8; the two volumes together $18.75.

DEAD SEA SCROLLS, ed. Millar Burrows, 1950, Vol. I, litho. ed., $2.50; 1951, Vol. II, fasc. 2, $2.00; fasc. 1 not yet ready.

THE SONG OF ULLIKUMMI. H. G. Güterbock, 1952 (reprinted from *JCS*). $2.00.

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